/298 cont./

121 789 have nothing unusual about them if we consider the phenomena which it aims at and the lack of other means of influencing them.

121 82 789 Simple transmission presupposes a knowledge of the outside world based on perception and observation, and even on common sense. Obviously, this knowledge does not always correspond to scientific facts, but one cannot, for all that, deny its existence. It is this same knowledge that has given rise to the formation of the postulate of transmissibility and which here determines the content and orientation of the corresponding practices. Thanks to it the Sarakatsani succeeds in grasping the qualities and properties of different objects, qualities and properties which he lacks and of which he has need; finally, it is this knowledge that permits him to symbolize some desirable effects by means of the properties in question. This process is likewise bound up with analogical reasoning. [153]

Myth does not occupy a place in the framework of simple transmission as such. However, it promotes /299/ the effectiveness of the latter, as we have shown in the preceeding paragraph.

These two types of action--mythical transmission and simple transmission--inspired by the postulate of transmissibility, as well as the ideas underlying them are not opposed to each other but are complementary. The ideas refer to two aspects of the world which ultimately become one. And these two kinds of action become integrated in a single process of which they represent two complementary aspects. At the point where the practices defined by myth reach their limit, the practices inspired by knowledge and analogous reasoning enter the scene to complete the work of the first ones. The ultimate goal is man and his life.

On the other hand, observation of transmission practices shows--and we must emphasize this particularly--that the components of the action which are brought into contact present a homogeneity of qualities. There is a correspondence between the property, the quality, etc., which one

/299 cont./

121 wishes to acquire and the virtues of the different objects with which
82 one puts oneself in contact in order to satisfy this desire. The
789 strength of iron and the skull ensure the strength of the living being. The sweetness of honey /ensures/ the sweetness of life. The multitude of seeds, the multitude of products. The male child, the birth of boys, etc. In this correspondence we see that quantity calls forth quantity, quality /calls forth/ quality, the abstract and the symbolic /call forth/ abstraction and symbolism, the functional /calls forth/ the functional. However, and this deserves to be emphasized very specially, this homogeneity of qualities points to a classifications of reality made by the Sarakatsani themselves. There is no need to try to justify them scientifically. The fact that these classifications exist is very significant. Equally significant is the fact that the magical action is possible only within the same category of the real.

121 Shifts from one type of quality to another come about only within the
789 limits of symbolism, a fact which does not deny the homogeneity but confirms it.

[153] Underneath this action we must recognize a thinking both positive and selective, testifying anew to the existence among the Sarakatsani of rationality and a knowledge of the world, closely bound up with their magic.

The application of the processes of contact within the framework of practices inspired by the postulate of transmissibility /300/ is also determined by homogeneity. Direct and material contact, on the one hand, and mediated contact, on the other, are carried out only on the basis of a choice made in terms of what one seeks to transmit: the mythical and abstract can be transmitted only through the intermediary of a symbol or a sign (the moons on the skirt; black, the sign of mourning), for they represent all of intelligible reality. On the other hand, the transmission of a concrete property (blood from the paschal lamb on the forehead of

/318 cont./

789 121 example sympathetic magic, homoeopathic magic, analogy opposition, etc., as well as the rules of magic action corresponding to these types (for example, similia similibus curantur/like cures like/, pars pro toto /a part for the whole/ etc.). Terms and rules are weighted with specific meanings, bound to the theories they convey or to contexts different from those of the Sarakatsani--which would involve the risk of creating misunderstanding about the specific nature of Sarakatsani magic.

/319/ THE SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF SARAKATSANI MAGIC

789 The magic of our herders, like any other cultural product, exerts its influence and applies its dynamic on numerous levels.

On the morphological and ecological plane, first of all, its presence is strongly felt. The social sphere of the Sarakatsani is enriched by it. In addition to the parts linked to various social phenomena (dwelling, economic exploitation, localities or migration, etc.) we have others that magic suggests. As a result of magic, there is a division of space (822) into sacred and magical (right-left) and a distinction of places into ill- (823) omened, neutral and auspicious (mountain passes, gorges, ravines, streams, crossroads, springs, etc.).

789 The cardinal points are linked to life and death, with good and evil 82 (east-life, west-death). Certain parts of the dwelling and the enclosure acquire a special significance, for their choice is prescribed for the performance of certain rites (hearth, threshold, the top of the entrance, the flagstones of the stroungha, etc.). The three kingdoms, mineral, vegetable and animal, play a role in the life of man which no longer emanates from their nature, but from the place they occupy in the framework of magical ideas. There are harmful trees (fig and walnut), protective shrubs and plants (brambles, holly, asparagus, feliki, willow, bulbs, grains etc.). There are wild and domestic animals (goats, dogs, cats, donkeys, bears, turtles, bats), birds (crows), aquatic animals (crabs,

/319 cont./

789 shell fish), certain objects (skin, fur, blood, excrements) which
82 exert a favorable or unfavorable influence as the case may be. Various materials (salt, incense, powder /"poudre"/ pitch, amber, iron), elements such as water and fire, not to forget the colors red and blue, belong to the foregoing and act in the same way.

All this tends to a more intimate adjustment of the Sarakatsani to his environment.

789 From the physiological point of view, magic, by prescribing
182 curative practices sustains life. If we regard these practices object-
761 ively and not in the Sarakatsani manner, we discover that in certain cases the magic introduces and sanctions some empirical rules of hygiene which, thanks to it, are strictly followed. /320/ For example, the prohibition of visits to the woman in childbirth lessens the danger of contamination for her or the newborn child. The transfer of flocks
(233) contaminated with anthrax (Daoutis) to new sheepfolds is in the end sal-
(232) utary for the animals not affected, since the places contaminated by the disease continue to be dangerous for many years.

789 On the plane of technological and economic activity, magic has
182 its word to say, and a constructive word. But its influence is exerted
152 directly. The Sarakatsani living in complete dependence on nature, is
154 dominated by a feeling of insecurity. He is never certain that his labor will be fruitful. It is necessary in addition that nature be merciful. Along with its protective practices, magic combats anxiety and induces optimism. To recall an image by M. Leenhardt, man applying himself to work is no longer isolated (120)

120. See M. Leenhardt: Gens de la Grande Terre, p. 42.

but aided by the subjugated universal forces; he then works if not with assurance, at least with hope--a psychological attitude that insures a concentration of attention on work, according to the remark by R. Firth, (121) which increases productivity.